621 and two persons whom A1 calls "father" and "mother", A65 (about 50 years old) and a66 (about 50), who live in the home of their "daughter" a63.

Fire 15 (67 to 70). --Four persons form two households: A67 "husband" of a2 and called asoinou by A1 because he is the father of his wife a4, and a68, aseetasu of a2, but called aseinosu by A1 because she is the mother of his other wife. And A69 (about 28 years old), "brother" of A42 and asoinou of A1, married to a70 (about 25), undetermined parentage.

Fire 16 (71 and 72). --A71 (about 30 years old), "brother" of A28 and his wife a72 (about 20 years old), "daughter" of A13 and a14.

Fire 17 (73 to 75). --A73 (about 30 years old), former husband of a12 whom he abandoned, and his two wives a74 and a75 (20 to 25 years old), "sisters" of a5.

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RULES OF RESIDENCE

591 621 The phenomena of spatial distribution do not seem to have special significance in the essentially nomadic groups. Nevertheless, we shall give the plan of distribution of the families in the nomadic camp (chart I), and in the winter village (chart II) for the restricted group, and the plan of distribution of the families or of the fires in semi-permanent camp for the most numerous combination (chart III). [47]

Fig. 12. --Placement of fires (+) and of family groups (△ : man; ○: woman) in the nomad encampment.

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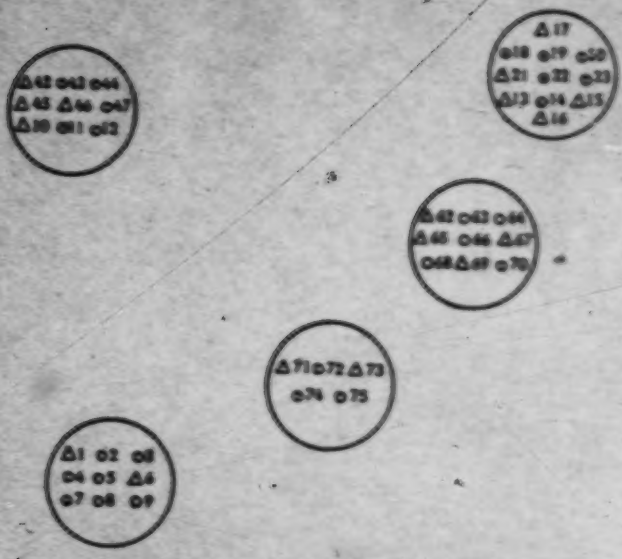

Fig. 13. --Grouping of families in the huts of the winter village.

The examination of these charts calls for several remarks.

(1) The nomadic camp generally obeys fixed rules for the distribution of individuals around the "fires," but not for the distribution of the "fires" in space. Fires 1 to 6 are not distributed in [48] the same way in the nomadic camp (I) and in the general camp (III). In fact, in the latter case, the families arrived one after the other, traveling in groups of two or three, or separately, and came to occupy the available sites. Nevertheless, when the restricted group travels in a single block, its camp is generally in conformance with the distribution given in chart I, which reproduces a camp maintained for one month.

(2) The distribution of the camp fires does not reproduce the distribution of families in the huts of the winter village. However, one will observe that the members of fires 1 and 2, who occupy one and the same hut, camp side by side in chart I, and around the same fire in chart III [49] (but, at this moment, A6 is absent and his family rejoins the fire of his "father"). In the same way, fires 4, 5, and 6, placed side by side in chart I, live together during the winter camping (chart II); but in this latter case, there is a complete separation at the time of the general meeting. It is true that at this moment, A21 has just died, his wife and his baby have rejoined the maternal

[I refers to Fig. 12 and III refers to Fig. 14. --Translator]

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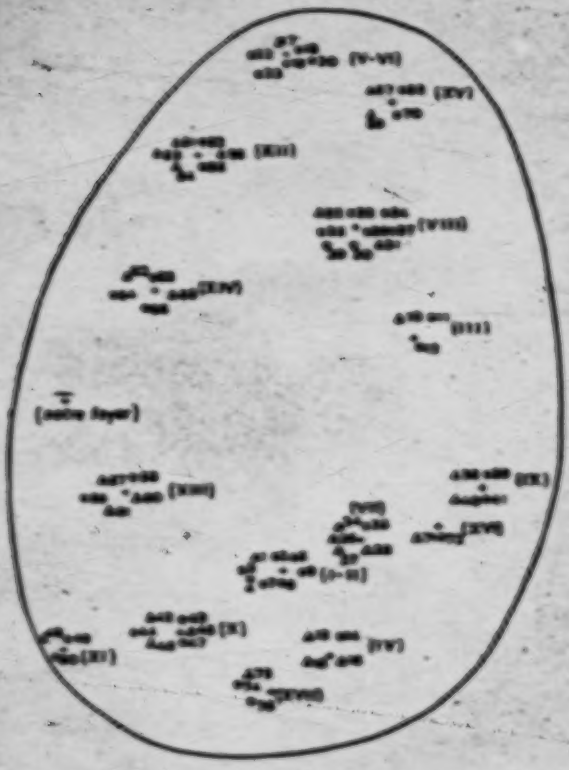

Fig. 14.--Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six persons has arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[24] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rules of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 5 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a68, and

[59] A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
[62] and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
[61] reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[50] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

[62] Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarthde, maimãde (b1); mamãndeti (c) ondndesu, nikpdetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101] were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
[19] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tapiéteru* (grandfather) and the term *pantakóisiu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *watsiu* (father) and the term *akaitsiu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *akatsuru* and mother's brother *atúsuru*. A man calls his older brother *akandsuru*, his younger brother *dowtíduru*, and his sisters *awtíduru*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akiródu*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *awátu* and *aténu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *atítiu* and that for female cross cousin, *dunéru*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *pantadiéruru*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*natéu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*awandíu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*atúsuru*), and mother-in-law (*akatsuru*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Wakítiau and cross cousins of their husbands.

587 968 At the death of the husband the wife and children pass to the deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers.

591 Residence is patrilocal although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-